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QUARTERLY BULLETIN OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBRARY

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JUNE 1955

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Vol. 9, No. 4

JUNE: 1955: JUNIE

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NOTES AND NEWS

The Council which was elected earlier in the year to draft a constitution for the newly-founded Association of Friends of the South African Public Library has completed its work, and on 3 June 1955 the formal step of adopting the constitution and officially launching the Association was taken at a public meeting convened for the purpose. The most urgent necessity is now to obtain new members, and it is hoped that those who responded so readily to the original appeal for support will now not only join themselves, but bring in a further harvest of new members.

Readers of this *Bulletin* will note that for the annual membership fee of a guinea (husband-and-wife at £1 10s.), it will be possible not only to receive copies of this journal from the first number of the tenth volume onwards, but also to purchase other publications handled by the Library at reduced prices. For those who are able to visit the Library in person, there will be lectures and guided tours of the Library and its Collections, while it is hoped that the many prospective members who live in other parts of the Union or beyond, will be kept in close touch with the work of the Library through its publications, and possibly through talks on the radio and other means.

Inquiries and suggestions will be welcomed by the Hon. Secretary, Friends of the Library, South African Public Library, Cape Town, who will be glad to supply further information about the aims and objects of the Association.

In the meantime those readers of the *Bulletin* who wish to subscribe to the journal only will of course be able to do so on receipt of renewal notices. Exchange arrangements with libraries and other institutions will remain unchanged.

What is virtually a new line of South African philological research has been opened up by Professor L. F. Casson, De Beers Professor of English Language at the University of Cape Town, in his inaugural lecture recently delivered before the University, and now available in printed form. Readers of the Chronicles of Jeremiah Goldswain* will recall that the text was written in a form of dialect, abounding in what most people would regard as odd

^{*} Casson, L. F. The dialect of Jeremiah Goldswain, Albany settler. Oxford University Press, 1955. 43 p. (University of Cape Town lecture series, no. 7). The Chronicles of Jeremiah Goldswain, ed. by Una Long. 2 vols. (Van Riebeeck Society Publications no. 27 & 29) 1946, 1949.

"misspellings", not sufficient to obscure the writer's meaning, but a grave problem to editor and printer alike. In his monograph Professor Casson is able to show by the use of an accepted research technique that Goldswain's language, spelling and (so far as can be deduced) pronunciation, as recorded in his own journal, can be made to yield an interest at least as great as that of the historical content of the *Chronicles*. Here is a Buckinghamshire man preserving the speech of his fathers, but mingling with it words of Dutch or Afrikaans origin that have since come into general South African English usage: such as *aam*, *agter*, *brack*, *knee-halter*, *tilt*, *tow* and *tulp*. The study of South African English 'borrowings' is of course nothing new; but in analysing with great skill the idiom and vocabulary of one particular settler, Professor Casson has made an important and illuminating contribution in a potentially rich but neglected field of enquiry.

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The second volume of the *Journal* of Jan van Riebeeck, edited by Professor H. B. Thom, translated by Dr. J. Smuts, and published by A. A. Balkema of Cape Town for the Van Riebeeck Society, has now been published (£5 for the set of three volumes: so far, the first two in the English set, and the first in the Nederlands set have appeared). This second volume takes the story on from New Year's Day, 1656 (with the inimitable go-between, Harry, appearing on the first page and re-appearing like a figure of doom throughout the book); it ends with the last day of 1658. This is a period of consolidation, during which expeditions are sent inland, the Free Burghers establish themselves, and the sober day-to-day record of administration is enlivened by accounts of lion-hunts and cattle-raids. The first clashes with the native tribes are recorded, and the first importation of slaves; and the beginnings of many problems still unresolved three centuries later.

This edition of the *Journal* is likely to remain a source-book of lasting authority and interest from many points of view. Not only does it provide the complete text of the *Daghregister* (previous editions were incomplete and are now practically unobtainable), but it is equipped with explanatory notes, maps and illustrations, it is well-printed, and as one enthusiastic reviewer has put it, the translation 'makes delightful reading' for both scholar and the general reader.

SAM SLY (William Layton Sammons)

On 1 June 1843 there appeared at Cape Town the first number of a periodical which may be said to have opened a new era in South African journalism. For Sam Sly's African Journal was a compromise between the news journal, devoid of leading articles and relying largely on the editorial scissors and paste, and the literary magazine. Its editor and proprietor, William Layton Sammons, newly arrived from Bath, was distinguished for his literary talent rather than his skill as a publisher or printer. It is surprising that, except to the discerning few, the career and even the name of this genial and accomlished writer should be largely unknown.

He was in the early forties when he landed from an emigrant ship in Table Bay. What is known of his birth and parentage can be briefly told. His father, Robert Sammons, by trade a cooper, was a freeholder with property in the parish of St. Paul, Bedford, and entitled to the parliamentary franchise.1 In 1791 he married Rebecca Coulson and their two eldest sons, John and Thomas, appear in the baptismal register of the parish of St. Mary, Bedford. John became a prosperous manufacturer at Newark, and his son, John Coulson Sammons, was the subject of a brief reference in Sam Sly's African Journal, on his appointment as a master of the grammar school at Needham Market.2 An infant, 'William L. Sammons', figures among the burials at St. Mary, Bedford, in the year 1796.3 There is no record of the birth of William Layton Sammons, but this was probably in the year 1800. Robert Sammons continued to reside in Bedford, where he died on 6 May 1824. His wife followed him to the grave in the churchyard of St. Mary eight years later. Sammons himself, though in later life proud of his association with Bedford, where he had 'frequently sat in Bunyan's old chair in the vestry of the Rev. Benjamin Hillyard's old meeting house, Mill Lane', 4 commonly spoke of Bath as his spiritual home and it was in Bath that he entered upon his career as a writer and dramatic critic.

Sammons's boyhood was largely spent in the home counties and the east midlands. Among the light verse which he contributed to Keene's Bath Journal is a moving piece entitled 'Thoughts, rather sentimental, arising after visiting an old school, the Hog Lane School at Kenilworth'. Hog, or Hogg, Lane is now Fieldgate Lane, and Sammons's school (he recalls the names of several classmates) may have been the private academy of

' Keene's Bath Journal, 24 July 1837.

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Poll Books for the County of Bedfordshire, 1820 & 1826. I am indebted to Mr. S. A. Rochlin for the suggestion that Sammons was born in Bedford.

[&]quot;Held by us on his rocking horse near Nottingham Park." S.S.A.J. 19 Oct. 1848. The nephew was a graduate of St. John's Coll., Camb. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, V.

F. G. Emmison, Bedfordshire Parish Registers, vols. xv & xxxv.

^{*} Cape Argus, 18 Aug. 1874. Mr. Rochlin has sent me this reference.

John Richards which was 'removed to a more eligible situation in Castle End' in the year of Waterloo.6 During part of his boyhood he must have lived in London, where he 'rode round Stepney churchyard at twopence a mile, ate sausages at Bow fair (three a penny) and played shystick at Greenwich.'7 Writing from the Cape to supply William Blanchard Jerrold with anecdotes of George Cruikshank, Sammons refers affectionately to old Vauxhall and Sadler's Wells, the theatre sadly changed since the passing of Joe Grimaldi.8

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In the years following conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, his home seems to have been Olney, 'a long straggling place with a horse pond at one end and a bridge at the other.' Contributing to Keene's Journal (1839-40) a series of articles entitled 'Footsteps of Cowper', he referred to his residence in Olney 'more than twenty years ago' and to his 'lively recollections of Cowper's house in the market place'.9

Eventually he settled down in the Georgian environment of Bath and here he was to make lifelong friends. The truth about his apprenticeship to the printing trade is obscure. His ambitions were literary, he had an engaging wit and it was soon clear that he could write with refreshing originality on a wide variety of topics. In the last years of King William IV the Keene brothers began to make use of him as literary and dramatic critic for the Bath Journal. He was not employed on the staff and he was free to write for other journals, contributing prose and verse from time to time to the Taunton Courier and other West country weeklies. He had yet to learn that literary work of this kind scarcely yielded a living wage, and he was content to figure in Silverthorne's Bath Directory as a 'gentleman', residing at 3 Springfield Place, Lansdown.

His initial contribution to Keene's Bath Journal was, it appears, a quarter column of light verse, printed in the issue for 9 February 1835. It was not long before he became a constant contributor, for, as early as 13 June 1836, an anonymous rhymester could enquire

> 'Why is your wit so often in the Journal? Is it to make them both the more eternal? Tis not my wish the editor to flatter But while your wit buoys up his solid matter, The Journal gives your wit a weightier worth And lends it wings to fly about the earth.'

^{*} Warwick & Warwickshire General Advertiser, 25 Mar. 1815. Richards "took a limited number of boarders from 8 to 12". For the identification of Hog Lane, see map accompanying survey of manor of Rudfen, made by Jas Fish, 1692, in Warwick County Record Office.

Keene's Bath Journal, 26 June 1837, in an article on Lansdown races.
 W. B. Jerrold. Life of Cruikshank. 1882. vol. ii pp. 64-73.
 Keene's Bath Journal, 11 & 18 November 1839.

Castle With lectures and musical promenades at the Assembly Rooms, exhibist have tions of paintings at the Quiet Street gallery and repeated performances of pence a Charles Kean at Bath's Theatre Royal, the paper needed the services of a Greenwell-informed critic. Regular columns headed 'Touching Things Theatrical' old with or 'Musical Promenades' appeared weekly during the season under the name to old of 'Sam Sly.' Praise was never fulsome. When, in February 1837, Kean ssing of produced 'The Merchant of Venice', Sammons was critical. 'We thought Shylock tamer than usual,' he wrote. Throughout his life he detested imposne seems ture and insincere emotion. 'If affection spoils a fair face worse than the small one end pox,' he stated in his column 'Touching Things Musical' (4 September 1837), 39-40) a 'pomposity must be as bad as the measles: and we never let an opportunity esidence slip without endeavouring to mortify the one or destroy the other.' Just before ctions of he left England for the Cape, he contributed a vigorous indictment of popular

> He longed to be a professional man of letters. His verse indeed he did not take very seriously. Much is imitative and none of it very profound. One piece was separately 'published by the Keene brothers under the title 'School for Scandal: a chit-chat between the sphinxes in the Park, by Sam Sly, Gent.' It ran to eight small pages and sold for two pence. There is wit and ease of expression but little depth of feeling. Sammons never ventured upon the heroic. His view of light verse is expressed in the following couplet (30 May 1836):

phrenology.

Rhyming's a trick,—there's no more art

In making sonnets than a tart.

His prose writings were more ambitious. He submitted articles to Charles Dickens in the hope that they would be accepted for Bentley's Miscellany. But Dickens handed over editorship of the Miscellany to Harrison Ainsworth early in 1839, and he declined to 'take upon myself the responsibility of withdrawing you from pursuits you have already undertaken or urging you on in a most uncertain and hazardous course of life." Sammons was anxious regarding his future. His contributions to Somerset journals had been written, he frankly admitted, 'as a safety valve to keep an active mind at rest or rather soul and body together." It is understandable that he should have sought out some of the literary giants of the day in the hope of establishing himself as a professional journalist. He had known George Cruikshank, as an intimate friend, for some years. He long remembered his last visit to the artist's house in Amwell Street, Pentonville, and their joint exploration of the familiar gardens at Vauxhall and of the churchyard of St. James, Pentonville, where Joe Grimaldi was buried. Cruikshank spent a few

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¹⁰ C. Dickens to W. L. Sammons, 31 Jan. 1839. Letters of C. Dickens (ed. W. Dexter) 1938. vol. i p. 197.
11 Keene's Bath Journal, 8 Aug. 1842.

weeks with Sammons in Bath early in the year 1842, going with him to leave cards on the shy and eccentric William Beckford at Lansdown Crescent.¹² Sammons's personal tastes were simple enough. He kept a journal, extracts from which appeared occasionally in the Somerset papers. They record such simple and austere pleasures as 'walked with son, Frederic, in the green fields . . . stroll to Twerton and saw Fielding's Lodge.' In the evenings he would sit down to review the latest number of *Punch*, or attend 'Mr. Miller's concert' or 'the delectable entertainments of the talented Distin family.' Or he would call on a neighbour in Springfield Place, an elderly draper named Daniel Howe, whose suit of black cloth, worn with buckles at the knees and black silk stockings, proclaimed the churchwarden and overseer of the poor.

It gave Sammons keenest pleasure to dwell on the gracious aspects of the past. His memory was prodigious. 'Sam Sly's Lament at the Railroads' gave the names of all coaches and their drivers frequenting Bath in the late 'thirties.

'Must we now part? Leave the White Hart, York House and Lion In order to fly on Two ribs of iron?'13

The economic outlook for the West country was dismal in the early 'forties. On 4 July 1842 the Journal commented editorially on 'the lamentable and fearful picture of the distress of the country.' At Bath many had sustained heavy losses with the failure in 1841 of Hobhouse's Bath Bank. Emigration, hitherto largely the concern of the agricultural classes, began to excite wider interest. The first settlers had left for New Zealand in 1839, and with the cessation of transportation, except to Van Diemen's Land, the Australian colonies began to attract men and women from Britain. Sammons who saw 'every trade, profession and calling overstocked and overdone' in Britain, decided on the Cape of Good Hope. A correspondent had sent a balance sheet to the Bath Journal which showed large profits on J. C. Chase's sheep farm near Cradock. Sammons made up his mind in July, his thoughts then on the eastern frontier districts rather than Cape Town, the capital. 'Who's for the Cape?' he enquired in a valedictory letter on 3 August. 'In all probability before this letter is in type, I shall have left my old city of Bath for the Cape of Good Hope.' His wife and two sons were to remain behind for the present.

His first impression of the Cape, which he reached by emigrant ship in

1

W. B. Jerrold, *ibid*. Sammons recorded Beckford's death in his African Journal,
 Aug. 1844.
 Keene's Bath Journal, 31 August 1840.

the latter days of 1842, were recorded several months later in early numbers of Sam Sly's African Journal. 'It seemed odd to find so many stoeps or short-raised promenades to every house, no pavement for the many and so few shop windows. We were much amused at incessant and universal crowing of cocks in every direction and at the uncommon quantity of curs . . . it was rare to find a lady walking or hear a bird whistle or scent a sweet flower or meet with a drop of cream or taste a good cheese or good loaf, not gritty, or a leg of mutton with too much gravy or a glass of good home-brewed or find too many windows cleaned.' But his criticisms were patently goodnatured, and no doubt partly for this reason his small journal received a welcome. It sold for eightpence a copy for its four folio pages. Its appearance was acknowledged amiably enough by its august contemporary, the Cape Town Mail, which remarked that Sam Sly was 'much respected in Bath' and had contributed to various Somerset weeklies. 15

Naturally he brought many of his prejudices with him to the Cape. Captain Lothian Dickson's projected royal mail coach service to convey passengers and mails weekly to Swellendam revived for him memories of the coaching days in Britain. He was correspondingly depressed when, two years later, the prospectus of a Cape of Good Hope Great Southern Railway promised a line through Stellenbosch and Caledon to Swellendam. 'The steam is up: who is for the railways?', he asked in a leader of 18 December 1845. As was to be expected, his main interest was in matters literary and theatrical, and the first three volumes of the African Journal are rich in notices of the amateur stage and of Cape Town's Musical Society. He regretted indeed that in the Town 'we have a musical society, subscription balls and a public library open only to subscribers or gentry . . . no lecture room, mechanics' institution, reading room or circulating library.'16 He gave great prominence to public entertainment, outdoor as well as indoor, recording cricket matches and the meets of the Cape hounds as well as the more widely popular racing. Of public issues, he singled out for the fullest notice the subject of emigration to the Cape, pointing out the defects of private projects and referring to J. C. Byrne as 'the great trumpeter and decoy duck, and chief promoter of emigration to Natal.'

A vast amount of commercial intelligence can be extracted from his advertisement columns. The *Journal* indeed was more of a family magazine than a newspaper and contained reading matter of interest to the whole family circle, children included. One of his most endearing traits was a fondness for children. He thought colonial boys unruly. 'It is remarkable,' he wrote, 'how

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¹⁴ S.S.A.J. 8 January 1844.

¹⁶ Cape Town Mail, 25 November 1843.

[&]quot;S.S.A.J. 18 July 1844. The Mail reported on 27 April 1844 that "Sam Sly is fretting himself to fiddle strings for the musical progress of the Choral Society."

disgustingly knowing and forward they become in the grosser affairs of life', recommending for their improvement 'a few twigs bound together, briskly applied.'

Financially the paper, which was published at 59 St. George's Street 'at the corner window facing Castle Street and the British and Foreign Coffee House,' could not have been a great success. Editorially, he was at first without assistance and, with the conclusion, at no. 53, of the first volume, he laid down his pen for a month, contenting himself with contributions to other journals. The familiar heading 'Touching Things Theatrical' appears in the issue of the *Cape Town Mail* for 8 June 1844. Meanwhile, he arranged for the first volume to be bound, with a dedication to his wife and two sons, 'to divert melancholy moments during their absence.' He resumed publication of his *Journal* on 4 July 1844, and there were to be no further intermissions.

Sammons by no means abandoned his ambition to contribute to some of the established British periodicals. He continued to send articles to Charles Dickens and in due course, when Dickens launched Household Words, some of these were accepted for publication. The magazine was intended for humble homes and, in 1850, there was likely to be much interest in emigration and in new homes oversea. Sammons forwarded 'Cape Sketches', which appeared serially in the first two volumes. Contributions were unsigned and it is clear that Dickens allowed himself a wide discretion to improve them by cutting and re-arrangement. 'The amusing and instructive sketches of Cape life,' he wrote, had been forwarded to him 'by a gentleman who has passed five active years in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.' It is not difficult to recognise Sammons's style. The sketches describe living conditions in Cape Town, the prospects for emigrants, with details of wages offered, and the characteristics of 'the Cape Boers'. He was scathing on the subject of emigrant ships,-'a viler conglomeration of laziness and immorality I never beheld even in St. Giles's."17

It was a continual struggle to make ends meet. Until 1848, newspapers were subject to a tax of one penny a sheet, with one halfpenny added for each additional half sheet. This 'tax on knowledge' was removed by Sir Harry Smith, and the final number in volume five of the *African Journal* was the first Cape newspaper to appear, under authority, without a stamp. On the other hand, periodicals hitherto carried free through the post were now to prepay postage. The small profits on the paper were eked out by a modicum of general printing orders. Occasional contributions, such as the entertaining 'Sly Hints to John Bull at Christmas' and 'How to Roast a Turkey' (in verse) for the *Cape of Good Hope Almanac* 1845 were probably offered gratuitously.

¹⁷ The Cape Sketches appeared in *Household Words*, vol. i, nos. 25-6 (pp. 588-9, 607-10) and vol. ii. nos. 31 & 33 (pp. 118-20, 165-7). The first two were reprinted by Mr. Eric Rosenthal in the *South African Saturday Book*, 1948, pp. 59-71.

SECOND EDITION.





AFRICAN JOURNAL

Facts, Action, Lews, Literature, Commerce, and Amusement.

** TO ASSIST THE ENQUIRING, ANIMATE THE STRUGGLING, AND SYMPATHIZE WITH ALL." -- LEIGH HUNT.

Vol. I.

CAPE TOWN, THURBDAY, JUNE 1, 1843.

To Advertisers.

THE following SCALE is respectfully submitted of favoring the Proprietor with their Placards and Notices in this dyrices Journal. It will be found lower than the ordinary rates, and it is hoped, a sufficient inducement—in connection with the interest they may feel in the spread and siyle of the Publication do throw all 'the weight they can into it. Those who are too much engaged, or incapable of framming their Advertisements to please themselves, or the requirements of the times, can have them suitably arranged, in any alappe—by way of Arosatic or otherwise, to catch the eye, and exise the judgment, at a triffing advance, not later to the attention of those who may be desirous

ON MONDAY MORNING NEXT, INSIDE SALE.

WHE Undersigned will sell, to close Shipments, Lithe whole of his FINE GOODS, including Sile, Satins, Satines, Orientals, Ribbons, Millinery, Dunstable Bonnets, Says, Hosiery, Shirting, Planels, Cambrics, Wusilin, Jeconotts, Riberts, Collars, Brides, Handker. THE STR INSTANT. chiefs, &c. &c. &c.

C. W. ADAMS.

Literature and the Fine Arts.

This work may be considered as an "Annual" to last for many years, and a handsome present for all parties. "Got up" in the first style of the art, as it regards embellishment and typography, and containing subjects far superior to the general run of works of that class, it will indeed form a most acceptable appendage for " Every Table!" -- whether it be mahogany, rosewood, oak, or cedar. We recommend "The Comic Album. A Book for every Table."

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William Layton Sammons (Sam Sly) by W. H. Schröder, 1882.

Reproduced by courtesy of the Librarian of Parliament.

With increasing financial difficulties, some of the sparkle of the editor's genial pen has begun to fade. 'Sam Sly' disappears from the title. Then, in the winter of 1851, Sammons became seriously ill. The issue for 25 September 1851 announced that Sammons's son 'can still execute moderate printing orders'. As regards the *Journal*, a 'temporary' farewell, destined alas to be permanent, has to be pronounced.

Sammons recovered his health and, though he never revived the *African Journal*, he continued to write for other periodicals. Alfred Essex, editor and proprietor of the *Graaff-Reinet Herald* was a good friend, and in 1852 that paper reprinted from *Household Words* a portion of Sammons's 'Cape Sketches'. Of the original articles which Sammons contributed to the *Herald* during 1854 and 1855 two may be recalled. The first, on 'Wit and Humour', appeared in the issue for 25 October 1854. The later article (16 May 1855) discussed literature in South Africa. 'There is no literature in Cape Town,' he frankly admitted, 'we have an abundance of books, but they are imported.' In correspondence, he never tired of entering the field on behalf of treasured survivals from the past. A letter to the *Herald* (September 1854) criticised a proposed new railroad, calling attention to the losses sustained by the speculating public.

By the close of the 'fifties his career as a literary writer was virtually at an end. His output since 1835 had been enormous, and he had written, with a forthright simplicity of style, on an endless variety of subjects. He felt that the reading public suffered from an overdose of politics, and he set himself to correct this by studied attention to the wide range of other human interests. Much of his writing was in the style of informal *causerie*. In his longer articles he could reproduce the ease and flow of cultured discourse. His wit and his unconventional ways are toned down in his later work, but he never lacked the courage and enterprise to introduce original ideas. *Sam Sly's African Journal* is the most readable of all Cape early Victorian journals.

His first home had been in the Somerset Road, but he soon moved to 'Constitution Hill'. His printing and editorial office was in Caledon Square. With the close of his career as a newspaper proprietor, he opened a stationery and book shop in Plein Street, at the corner of Spin Street. His last home was at 64 Sir Lowry Road. In the 'seventies, he was a gentle recluse, dreaming over old prints and playbills, happy with his books and living largely in the past. Much of his time was given to an austere advocacy of temperance, in this respect following the example of his old friend, George Cruikshank who died in 1878. Sammons lived on until 1882. He passed away on 1 September of that year, having confided his wishes in regard to his funeral and the disposal of his treasured books, to a small child friend. By that time, his

¹⁴ The Cape Times, 4 Sept. 1882.

literary work and even his second name, which appears as 'Taylor' in the obituary notice of a daily paper, had been forgotten by the public. At Bath, on the other hand, his memory was preserved and, as late as 1905, a correspondent could recall some of his mannerisms and the contributions in prose and verse which had appeared in Keene's Journal more than sixty years earlier.¹⁹

ALAN F. HATTERSLEY

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CHARLES AKEN FAIRBRIDGE AND HIS LIBRARY

The following corrections and additions to the articles appearing in the *Quarterly Bulletin*, vol. 9, nos. 2 & 3, under the above title, should be noted. p. 40 C. A. Fairbridge's youngest daughter Mary married William Player

Brigstocke, lieutenant in the Dragoon Guards. They had no issue.

p. 80 A description of "Mr. Fairbridge's Collection" of pictures appears in Charles Cowen's prefatory memoir to the Schröder Art Memento, published in memory of the artist W. H. Schröder in 1894 (p. 27-28). Mention is also made in the memoir to Fairbridge's interest in establishing the authenticity of the known portraits of Jan van Riebeeck.

p. 89 The Traill crest should be described as: "a Column or fire beacon in the sea proper."

The South African Library has received, through the courtesy of Mr. Sisson Cooper, photographic copies of portraits of Dr. J. W. Fairbridge and his wife, which now hang in the Fairbridge Library.

A.M.L.R.

¹⁸ Keene's Bath Journal, 7 Jan. 1905. Reminiscences of George Smith.

A FORGOTTEN TRANSLATION OF A "GROSVENOR" MANUSCRIPT

When, on Tuesday, 9th November, 1954, I visited the South African Public Library in order to follow up several references to the wreck of the *Grosvenor* which I had reason to believe might be found there, Mr. Varley showed me two documents which were a very great surprise to me, as they had been to him when he first came across them a short time before my arrival.

The first document was a bound volume of *The Cape Town Mail, and Mirror of Court and Fashion*, which had only recently been acquired by the Library. In the issues for Saturday, 5th March and Saturday, 12th March, 1842, there appeared, in two instalments, under the title "Wreck of the Grosvenor", an English translation of the report of the expedition of Heligert Muller and Jan Andries Holtshausen, which was sent from the Cape in December, 1782, to rescue possible survivors of the disaster. The translation of the report was complete except for the preamble and the statistical list of the personnel, animals, etc., which took part in, or were used during the expedition. This document seems to have been completely overlooked by students of *Grosvenoriana*. I confess that I was quite unaware of its existence, and that I also missed the second of the documents.

This second document was a copy of Donald Moodie's List of Official Documents, etc., which was published in Cape Town in 1838. The List was intended to be a guide to what would eventually appear in his now famous Record, should the necessary funds for printing it become available. As is well known, lack of funds caused the publication of the Record to cease and we have thus been deprived of access to a number of very valuable documents, some of which have, since that time, disappeared. Among these was the original report of the Muller expedition, which appears in Moodie's List among the papers dealing with "Kafirs, 1737 to 1785". The report was listed on page vi as the first item for the year 1783, as follows:

"S.W. April 28, Report of Helligert Muller, of journey to the Kafir and Tambookie Country, in search of the Crew of the English Ship "Gouverneur," (Grosvenor,)—from 21st Dec. 1782 to 23rd March. 1783—Diary of proceedings of party—situation, statements, and conduct, of Kafirs."

This, then, as I have said, must have been the original report, that in the Hague Archives being a copy, since it was the practice of the Company's officials at the Cape to retain originals and to send only copies overseas. "S.W." meant, of course, that the document came from the Swellendam records.

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The fact that the report was included in Moodie's *List* of 1838 shows that it was in existence in South Africa as recently as that year. Moodie himself, intending to publish the report, made the translation of it which was to have appeared in his *Record*, but realising that no further funds were likely to be available, permitted it to be printed in *The Cape Town Mail*. The editor of that paper introduced the translation with the following significant statement:

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"We have been favoured with a perusal of the forthcoming number of the 'Record', which publication, we are happy to learn, it is the intention of Mr. Moodie to continue until apprised of the result of a Memorial from the Commissioners of the Cape Town Municipality, etc., to the Secretary of State, praying that the Colonial Government may be authorised to contribute to the completion of the publication.

We are glad to find among these papers some information new to us, and we believe to the world—relative to the disastrous fate of the crew of the *Grosvenor*, wrecked on the coast of Kaffraria in the year 1782. The following extracts are from the Journal of Captain Hillegert Muller, who was dispatched with a strong body of Burgers, to endeavour to rescue the suffering subjects of a state then engaged in war with Holland."

One would have thought that Duncan Moodie, the son of the compiler of the Record, would, in his The History of the Battles and Adventures . . . in Southern Africa published in Cape Town in 1888, have included the Muller report among the documents concerning the Grosvenor which he reprinted therein, for he brought together for the first time, though without annotations, Dalrymple's official Account of the wreck, Hubberly's evidence of 1783, Carter's Narrative and Van Reenen's Journal, as well as several minor references to the disaster and its aftermath. Yet he, too, appears to have been unaware of the existence of the Muller report.

It was undoubtedly because of this, and because the report did not figure in the *Record*, that it has been overlooked in recent times; and it was for these reasons that I stated in the Introduction to my *Source Book on the Wreck of the Grosvenor East Indiaman* that the Muller report had "hitherto escaped notice". I did, however, discover that the copy of it which was sent to Holland had survived, and published both the Dutch of it and an English translation in the *Source Book*.

Theal, it is true, wrote a dozen lines about the Muller expedition in his well-known history of South Africa;² but the mis-statements contained in those few lines are such as to make it quite clear that he never set eyes on the original report or on a copy of it.

It is not necessary here to dwell on these mis-statements with the exception

¹ Kirby, P. R., A Source Book, etc., Cape Town (Van Riebeeck Society), 1953, p.2.
² Theal, G. M., History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795, vol. iii, London (Swann Sonnenschein), 1910, pp. 160-1.

of one, which has been quoted and re-quoted until it has almost acquired the sanctity of truth. For Theal stated that Muller "left his waggons at the Kei, and pushed on with a party on horseback, but was obliged to turn back by the hostile attitude of the Tembus." This statement was not only quite wrong, but it even seems to have been partly invented. Theal's sources of information were, of course, Dalrymple's Account and Carter's Narrative, both of which were second-hand.

But Dalrymple, who derived his information from the surviving sailors, merely said that "the Mambookers opposing them, they left the waggons at the River Nye or cK-ly." The "Mambookers", however, were Aba-Mbo, not Tembu, whom Dalrymple's informants called "Tambookers". Theal made the change without any authority. Further, there was no question of such a large and well-armed commando being "opposed" by any native group. The real reason why Muller left his wagons at the Kei was that he found it impossible to cross the river, which may very well have been in flood at that time, although he did not say so in his report.

Muller, however, makes it plain that his reasons for turning back at the "Mitikati" (Umtakatyi) River were that he was convinced (wrongly, as we now know) that no person from the *Grosvenor* east of where he then was had survived, and because his horses were completely exhausted.

In the translation of the report which appeared in *The Cape Town Mail* in 1842 there is evidence of textual differences between it and the copy of it which was sent to Holland. The translator did his work quite well on the whole, but he seems to have had some trouble with proper names and occasionally also with ordinary words. In the latter instances he "played for safety" by giving the Dutch words, or what he imagined to be the Dutch words, in brackets. With regard to the former, however, we have to choose between accepting his spelling as being that of the original report, or regarding many of them as under suspicion until the actual manuscript turns up. But the spelling of one or two names is so significant that it is well worth while to consider them.

In the entry for 21st December, 1782, the name of the second sailor guide is given in the translation as "Juri Evers", whereas in the Hague manuscript it appears as "Jurgen Everts". Since the man's name was Jeremiah Evans the former version seems more likely than the latter.

Again, in the entry for 4th January, 1783, the name of the commandant is printed "Khun", and in that for the 11th as "Khune". In the Hague copy it is "Keune". This man's name seems to have given trouble to all his contemporaries, whether Dutch or English. The *Grosvenor* sailors call him "Koning", "King" and even "Quin", Donald Moodie calls him "Khune", and the Dutchmen of the period style him variously as "Khun", "Keune"

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and "Keunne". The man himself, however, in a letter which he wrote on 29th January, 1784, from his place on the Swartkops River, signed his name clearly as "D. W. Kuene". According to the sailor Thomas Lewis he was a Hanoverian, so doubtless the original form of his name was "König". But since this individual played a conspicuous part in many of the cattle forays which took place on the frontier during the last years of the eighteenth century, it is desirable that his name should be recognised whenever it occurs in spite of its many strange disguises. His Christian names were "Daniel Willem".4

The entries for 2nd and 3rd February, 1783, contain the names of three Indians, a man and two women. In the Hague manuscript these appear as "Bemmers", "Alien" and "Betje". But in the English version in *The Cape Town Mail* they are given as "Rommert", "Ali" and "Betje". The man's name in this form is likely to be nearer to what it actually was than in the other; for in an unpublished letter which I have discovered, which contains the names of most of the Indian survivors of the *Grosvenor* tragedy, that of "Roman" occurs, but nothing in the least like "Bemmers". In this same communication the names of the two Indian girls are given as "Betyi en Bettie genaamd Alle". This would seem to indicate that the original report gave the two names as "Ali en Betje", and that the clerk who made the copy now in the Hague rendered this as "Alien en Betje", erroneously incorporating the conjunction with the first name, and then repeating it. 5

The Cape Town Mail translation also reveals two places where passages occurred in the original report which were omitted, either unintentionally or by design, from the copy which was sent to Holland.

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The entry for 29th December, 1782, as it appears in the Hague manuscript, consists of the single sentence as printed in the *Source Book*. The translated version in *The Cape Town Mail*, however, adds the following:

"ordered the burger Petrus de Buys through J. Steyn to return to his farm, which is one of the outer farms on Swartkops river, on which Buys replied "If the captain gives me a span of oxen I shall return, otherwise not".

The Council of Policy at the Cape possibly considered it inadvisable to inform the Honourable Seventeen of this occurrence.

Again, in the entry for 20th January, 1783, the translation from the original is rather fuller than the copy, for it begins thus:

"Our commando being complete, consisting of 109 christians and 20 armed

^a Kirby, P. R., op. cit., p. 45.

^{&#}x27; Ibid., pp. 160-1.

¹bid., pp. 172-3. 1bid., pp. 160-1.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 168-9.

Hottentots with 47 wagons, including the 9 passengers from Camdeboo and Bruintjes Hoogte"...

The last nine words are explained by the entry for 19th January, 8 in which we are told that "sixteen burgers from the Cambdebo district of Stellenbosch" had come to join the expedition, in the hope that during it they might have an opportunity of increasing their herds. With them came an Italian named Almarot. But when they heard the regulations read out, including the prohibition of any form of cattle-taiding (as is now quite clear), eight of them turned back, and only eight remained. These eight, together with the Italian, made up the nine referred to in the newly discovered version of Muller's report.

There are two footnotes to the second instalment of the translation which are of considerable importance.

The first of these draws attention to the fact that, in the entry for 18th February, 1783, the concluding words "having travelled in the whole [journey] 248 hours" are in a different handwriting from the rest of the report, being "apparently that of the Secretary Blankstein". This statement adds force to my suggestion that the Dutch copy from which the translation was made was Muller's original report. Needless to say, there is no such difference of handwriting in the Hague manuscript.

The second of these footnotes refers to the statistical list which was appended to the report, but which was omitted from the translation. The footnote, however, gives what purports to be the totals of men, animals, etc., which participated in the expedition. These are unfortunately quite inaccurate. The note also contains a copy of the letter of 21st October, 1783, with which the copy of the report was sent to Holland. It was by means of this letter, the original of which is still in the Cape Archives, that I was able to trace the report to the Hague and to secure a copy of it.

It has occurred to me that the question of the number of individuals who took part in the Muller expedition may possibly require some clarification especially in view of the fact that the figures given in the report as printed in my Source Book are quite different from those given in the "new" English version of 1842, and that there are apparent contradictions between the figures in the statistical list and those which appear elsewhere in the report. One reason for these discrepancies is that Muller did not include himself, his colleague Holtshausen, the nine men who joined his party on 19th January, 1783, or the two sailor-guides Francisco de Lasso and Jeremiah Evans, or their gear, in his statistics.

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¹ Ibid., pp. 166-7.

^{&#}x27; Ibid., p. 14.

The true facts are these. When the commando set out from its final mustering-place at the Noetoe River on 20th January, it consisted of the following persons:

1. Europeans:	Muller and Holtshause	en 2						
	Named farmers	96,	not	95	as	in	C.T.	Mail
	Unnamed farmers	8						
	The Italian Almarot	1						

Total 109, not 100 as in Theal

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2.	Hottentots:	Muller's and Holtshausen's	8
		The named farmers'	170
		The unnamed farmers'	?
		The Italian Almarot	?
		The two sailors	0

The two sailors

Known Total 178, not 65, as in C.T. Mail

There were, however, probably about one hundred and ninety Hottentots, though certainly not three hundred, as stated by Theal.

Into the details of the number of wagons, spans of oxen, horses, slaughter animals and other gear used during the expedition it is not necessary to go. It is sufficient to say that with the solitary exception of the number of horses which died during the journey (a total of ten) the numbers given in the footnote in *The Cape Town Mail* were wrong in every instance. Anyone who has examined the blinding array of figures contained in the list given in the Hague manuscript, and covering three full pages of it, will readily understand how easily mistakes could be made, and be prepared to condone those made by the editor of the newspaper of 1842, David Buchanan. To him all credit is due for his insight and enterprise in preserving for posterity the contents of this important and illuminating document.

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CEASED PUBLICATION

Crescent, v.17, no.3, May 1953. Farm. v.6, no.9, Sept. 1953.

Fight. v.7, no.5, Dec. 1953. Fram; Norsk maanedsblad for skandinaver i Syd-Afrika. No.409, Feb. 1954. South African journal of clinical science (incorporating clinical proceedings). v.5, no.4, Dec. 1954. Succeeded by:

South African journal of laboratory and clinical medicine.

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'n Opsomming van die klimatologies gegewens oor 'n tydperk van tien jaar by die agro-meteorologiese observatorium, Groot-Drakenstein, waargeneem—1941 tot 1950—deur G. D. B. de Villiers. Pretoria, Staatsdr., 1954. 6d. [iii]2-39 p. illus, tables (some fold.), bibliog. (Vrugtenavorsing tegniese reeks no. 36. Pamflet no.349). Eng. edition [iii]2-39 p.

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Klimaat van Suid-Afrika. Deel 2: reenvalstatistieke. Pretoria en Kaapstad, Staatsdr., [1955]. £1. ix, 2-187, [ii] p. 2 maps(1 fold.), tables. (W.B.20).

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Kommissie van ondersoek oor afsonderlike universiteitsopleidingsgeriewe vir nieblankes/Commission of enquiry on separate training facilities for non-Europeans at universities.

Verslag van die kommissie . . . 1953-1954. Pretoria, Staatsdr., [1955]. [ii]2-63,[ii]2[i] p. Eng. edition [iii]2,62,[ii]2[i] p. Gemimeografeerd.

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Wette/Statutes

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Wet om voorsiening te maak vir die registrasie van sekere welsynsorganisasies, vir die beheer van die insameling van bydraes tot die fondse van sulke organisasies en van sekere inrigtings; en vir aangeleenthede wat daarmee in verband staan. [... Wet no.40 van 1947 soos gewysig by ... Wet no.3 van 1949]. Pretoria, Staatsdr., [1955]. 2/9. [iii]4-35 p.

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Ordonnansies van die Provinsie Natal, 1954. Pietermaritzburg, Natal Press, [1955]. [v] 6-157 p. tables.

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Tussentydse verslag van die Kommissie van ondersoek na die stelsel van plaaslike bestuur in Transvaal oor die lisensieëring van bedrywe, besighede, en beroepe in die provinsie. Pretoria, Staatsdr., 1954. [iii]2-42 p. (T.P.4/1954). Eng. & Afr.

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